




The invisible government

BY DAVID WISE AND THOMAS B. ROSS

THERE are two governments in the United States today—one visible, the other invisible. The first is the government that citizens read about in their newspapers and children study in their civics books. The second, an invisible government, gathers intelligence, conducts espionage and plans and executes secret operations all over the globe.

The Central Intelligence Agency is at the heart of the Invisible Government. But that government also includes nine other agencies (the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation) and many individuals, units and agencies that outwardly appear to be a normal part of the conventional government. It even encompasses business firms and institutions that are seemingly private. To an extent that is only beginning to be perceived, this shadow government is shaping the lives of 190,000,000 Americans. Major decisions involving peace or war are taking place out of public view. An informed citizen might come to suspect that the foreign policy of the United States often works publicly in one direction, and covertly, through the Invisible Government, in just the opposite direction.

The intelligence network has grown into a massive, hidden apparatus that secretly employs about 200,000 people and spends several billion dollars a year. Because of its enormous size and pervasive secrecy, the Invisible Government has become

the inevitable target of suspicion and criticism. It has been accused by some knowledgeable congressmen and other influential citizens, including former President Harry S. Truman, of conducting a foreign policy of its own and of meddling deeply in the affairs of other countries without Presidential authority.

The American people have not been in a position to assess these charges. They know virtually nothing about the Invisible Government. Its employment rolls are classified. Its activities are top-secret. Its budget is concealed in other appropriations. A handful of congressmen are supposed to be kept informed by the Invisible Government, but they know relatively little about how it works. Overseas, American ambassadors are supposed to have control over the Invisible Government's agents. But the agents maintain lines of communications and codes of their own, and the ambassadors' authority has been judged by a committee of the United States Senate to be a "polite fiction." At home, the intelligence men are directed by law to leave matters to the FBI. But the CIA has more than a score of offices in major cities throughout the United States, and it is deeply involved in domestic institutions—from broadcasting stations and a steamship company to universities.

The Invisible Government is also generally thought to be under the direct control of the National Security Council. But, in fact, many of the major decisions of the Invisible Government are never discussed in the National Security Council. They are handled by a small directorate of men known as "the Special Group," whose existence is unknown outside the innermost circle

continued

COPYRIGHT © 1974 BY DAVID WISE AND THOMAS B. ROSS, ADAPTED FROM "THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT," TO BE PUBLISHED BY RANDOM HOUSE IN JUNE.

LOOK 6 16 61 37

CIA

The CIA sent out engraved invitations when it laid the cornerstone of its "secret" headquarters

of the Invisible Government. The Vice-President is by law a member of the National Security Council, but he does not participate in the decisions of the Special Group. Lyndon B. Johnson was not truly involved with the Invisible Government until he was sworn in as the 36th President of the United States. On November 23, 1963, during the first hour of his first full day in office, Johnson was taken by White House National Security Assistant McGeorge Bundy—who had been President John F. Kennedy's personal link with the Special Group—to the Situation Room, a restricted command post deep in the White House basement. There, surrounded by top-secret maps, electronic equipment and communications outlets, the new President was briefed by the head of the Invisible Government, John Alex McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and a member of the Special Group.

McCone took over as CIA Director from Allen Dulles in November, 1961. Through the large picture window of his immaculate private dining room atop the CIA's \$46,000,000 hideaway in Langley, Va., he can watch deer and other wildlife gambol in the woodland below.

Appropriately, the CIA's concrete headquarters is invisible, an architectural diadem set in bucolic splendor in the middle of nowhere and modestly veiled by a thick screen of trees. In the State Department, which does not always love its brothers in the intelligence world, the CIA is often referred to as "those people out in the woods." The advantages of a rustic retreat were extolled by Allen Dulles, when he went before a House Appropriations Subcommittee in June, 1956, to seek funds for the CIA headquarters. His report said: "Located on a 125-acre tract forming an inconspicuous part of a larger 750-acre Government reservation, the Langley site was chosen as the one location, among many sites inspected in detail, most adequate for safeguarding the security of CIA's operations. . . . This site, with its isolation, topography and heavy forestation, permits both economical construction and an added measure of security safeguards. . . ."

Three years later, guests, in response to engraved invitations from Dulles, attended the cornerstone-laying ceremony. Col. Stanley Grogan, the CIA's public-information man at that time, handed out a press release. "The entire perimeter of the main part of the site is bounded by trees," it noted, "and very little of the building will be visible from the public highways." That the CIA could send out public invitations to a ceremonial at its hidden headquarters reflects a split personality that plagues the agency and occasionally makes it the butt of unkind jokes. Dichotomy pervades much of what the CIA does. It is simultaneously supersecret and not.

When Allen Dulles became Director in February, 1953, the CIA was housed in a ragged complex of buildings at 2430 E Street in the Foggy Bottom section of the capital. A sign out front proclaimed: "U.S. Government Printing Office." Once, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his brother Milton set out to visit Dulles. They were unable to find the place. Dulles thereupon investigated the secrecy policy. When he discovered that even guides on sightseeing buses were pointing out the buildings as "the CIA," he had the printing-office sign taken down and one that said "Central Intelligence Agency" put up.

After the CIA moved across the Potomac to its Langley home in 1961, the matter of secrecy still proved bothersome. Large green-and-white signs pointed the way to the CIA from the George Washington Memorial Parkway. Originally, they were erected to guide workmen to the site during construction. As he drove to and from work each day, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who lived in nearby McLean, Va., would pass the signs that trumpeted the way to the CIA. One day, they abruptly disappeared. In their place was only a small green-and-white marker reading "Parkway," with an arrow pointing

continued

5 ways to trim down deliciously

Even with the calories cut, these dressings from Kraft are gourmet-good—tasty as non-diet dressings!



Tart-sweet and creamy, great on fruits or slaw, yet only 8 calories per teaspoonful.



Slim-down version of savory Kraft French has just 7½ calories in a teaspoonful.



Even with the calories cut to 3½ per teaspoon, this has real Italian tang!



Only 5 calories a teaspoonful for blue cheese dressing that's gourmet good!



Chef-style, with rich tomato-and-spice tingle, but only 6 calories a teaspoonful!

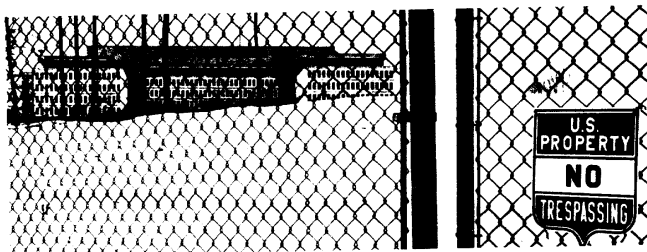
low calorie dressings from KRAFT

along the highway, and "B.P.R.," with an arrow pointing to the CIA turnoff. "B.P.R." stands for Bureau of Public Roads, which really does have two buildings at Langley.

Despite the atmosphere of secrecy that surrounds the CIA headquarters, a Soviet KGB agent trying to find it would have no difficulty. He could drive to the nearest service station and ask for a map of Washington, which (like most road maps) clearly identifies the CIA site at Langley. The Russian spy could also make the trip for 44 cents on a public-transit bus, as do hundreds of the CIA's regular employees. A caller who asked the transit company for the schedule to Langley received this reply: "Going to CIA? Buses leave at 7:12 a.m., 7:46 a.m. and 8:16 a.m., and arrive at CIA 34 minutes later. Returning in the evening at 4:38 p.m., 5:08 p.m. and 5:40 p.m. Have a nice trip."

If the Soviet spy were a top "illegal," as the Russians call agents who have no embassy cover, he could check the *Washington Post* for a suitable base of operations. In March, 1963, for instance, the paper carried a large advertisement for the Broadfalls

CIA
continued



Apartments in Falls Church, Va, headlined: "Convenient to CIA-Dulles Airport-Pentagon." Below the inviting headline, leaving nothing to chance, a map showed exactly how to get from the apartment house to the CIA. There is such a thing as an apartment house becoming *too* convenient to the CIA. Early in 1963, an enterprising realtor who owned 13 acres adjacent to CIA headquarters applied to the local zoning board for permission to build apartment houses on his land. With horror, the CIA learned that from the fourth or fifth floor, residents would be able, with a spyglass, to look right into McCone's picture window and read his classified documents. The agency then secretly ordered the Government's General Services Administration to buy up the land.

A visitor to CIA headquarters turns off at the "B.P.R." sign at Langley and soon comes to a ten-foot-high wire-mesh fence that surrounds the entire site. On the fence are various signs—none saying CIA. One reads: "U.S. Government Property for Official Business Only." Another says: "Cameras Prohibited." A third sign says: "No Trespassing." Beyond the gate is a guardhouse, but a visitor who appears to know where he is going is waved through without having to stop and show credentials. A sharp left, and the building, still half-hidden by the trees, comes into view. It is massive, grayish-white concrete, several stories high and cold in appearance. The windows are recessed, and those on the lower floors are barred with a heavy mesh. Off to the right of the main entrance, a separate domed structure housing a 500-seat auditorium gives an almost Martian atmosphere to the grounds. But what strikes the visitor most is the complete silence outside the building. It might be a hospital or a private sanitarium.

On the roof, there are special radio antennas, worth \$50,000, a vital part of the CIA's own worldwide communications system. Deep inside the vast headquarters is a central control room, to which alarm systems throughout the building are wired. Three security incinerators, built at a cost of \$105,000, gobble up classified wastepaper.

Once past the door, a visitor can get about as far as the inscription in marble on the left wall—"And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free. John VIII-XXXII"—before he is stopped by a guard. He is then directed to a reception room, where he signs in. A security escort takes him where he is going, waits until he is through, and escorts him back to the front door. There, just inside the airy lobby, a mammoth official seal with the words "Central Intelligence Agency" is set in the marble floor, with an eagle's head in the center. As he walks through the corridors, the visitor might notice that most of the doors to offices are closed and unmarked, giving the false impression of a virtually deserted building.

Like a battleship, the CIA's citadel is built in compartments. An employee in one office would not necessarily know what was happening a few feet away on the other side of the wall.

Among the special facilities is a \$200,000 scientific laboratory, where the CIA perfects some of its miniaturized weapons, invisible inks, special explosives and other devices. One of the really spooky instruments at Langley is the CIA's electronic brain, which stores and retrieves the mountains of information that flow into headquarters. The CIA's library is split into four parts: a regular library of books and documents, special libraries that store biographic and industrial intelligence, a document center—and the electronic brain. The brain is called "WALNUT" and was developed especially for the CIA by IBM. A needed document is flashed in front of the viewer, by means of a photo-tape robot called "Intellofax." WALNUT and Intellofax, unlike humans, are infallible. Aside from the huge volume of classified data that pours into Langley, the agency collects 200,000 newspapers, books and other "open" material each month. The information is stored on 40,000,000 punch cards. When a CIA man wants a particular item—say a Castro speech or a top-secret report on Khrushchev's health—he feeds into WALNUT a list of key words, perhaps 25, about the subject. The brain finds the right microfilmed document and photographs it with ultraviolet light. The tiny photo is then projected on the viewing screens. This takes five seconds.

The CIA also has a special spy-fiction library, which it does not advertise. This collection contains thousands of past and current mystery and espionage stories. It should please the fans of such writers as Ian Fleming, Helen MacInnes and Eric Ambler to know that the CIA makes a point of keeping up with the latest tricks of their heroes.

CIA men and women lead a cloistered life. Intra-agency marriage is not unusual, the most notable recent groom being U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers. After his release by the Russians, Powers continued to work for the CIA at Langley. He was divorced from his wife Barbara, and on October 25, 1963, married Claudia Edwards Downey, 28, a divorcee and CIA psychologist. Mrs. Downey, mother of a seven-year-old girl, is said to have resigned to become Mrs. Powers.

In bygone years, CIA employees were barred from admitting where they worked. They usually managed to hint at it anyhow. Nowadays, overt employees are permitted to give the information—although not to a foreign national. Intelligence officers in the Clandestine Services, however, are not normally allowed to say they have a job with the CIA. Cover names are used even inside the CIA. "I don't know the names of everyone I deal with at the agency," one high official confided. "We often use pseudonyms in-house, in case a wire is tapped or a piece of paper gets into the wrong hands. And we never use real names in communications."

Many of the CIA's younger people are recruited off college campuses. At every large university, there is usually someone who serves

continued

secretly as the CIA's talent scout. At Yale, for example, during the late 1940's, it was "Skip" Walz, the crew coach. The college recruits are enrolled as CIA JOT's—Junior Officer Trainees.

When Sargent Shriver was organizing the Peace Corps, he realized that the new agency, with its thousands of young volunteers dispersed over the globe, could well look like an all-but-irresistible "cover" to the CIA. He was also aware that even one "spy" incident involving a volunteer might destroy the Corps, and privately proclaimed his determination to do everything he could to divorce it from even the faintest smell of intelligence work. One story circulating around the executive suite of the Peace Corps had the then Vice-President, Lyndon Johnson, advising Shriver, "Beware the three C's—communism, cuties and the CIA." Shriver went directly to President Kennedy to discuss the problem. "Jack Kennedy gave me his promise," Shriver later told a friend, "that there would be no CIA agents in the Peace Corps." Kennedy followed up this verbal assurance by issuing specific orders to the Director of the CIA to stay away from the Corps.

Of every 1,000 persons considered for CIA employment, 200 are selected to undergo security investigations. About 22 of the 200 are screened out because "they drink too much, talk too much, have relatives behind the Iron Curtain, which may make the applicants subject to foreign pressures..." What this boils down to is that 178 of every 1,000 applicants are accepted for CIA jobs.

Not all those who pass over these hurdles spend their time at CIA headquarters or on secret missions overseas. Although few Americans are aware of it, the CIA has offices in 20 cities throughout the country. The National Security Act of 1947 establishing the CIA stated that "the agency shall have no police, subpoena, law-enforcement or internal-security functions." Since it was created to deal exclusively with foreign intelligence, the question might be raised why it has field offices across the nation. The answer CIA officials give is that the offices are needed to collect foreign intelligence domestically, principally from travelers returning from abroad.

The CIA's use of tourists and travelers to gather intelligence was clearly forecast in a memorandum that Allen Dulles submitted to the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1947, when it was considering the act establishing the agency. The memorandum is a public document. It concludes: "Because of its glamour and mystery, overemphasis is generally placed on what is called secret intelligence, namely, the intelligence that is obtained by secret means and by secret agents. During war, this form of intelligence takes on added importance, but in time of peace, the bulk of intelligence can be obtained through overt channels, through our diplomatic and consular missions and our military, naval and air attachés in the normal and proper course of their work. It can also be obtained through the world press, the radio and through the many thousands of Americans, business and professional men and American residents of foreign countries, who are naturally and normally brought in touch with what is going on in those countries. A proper analysis of the intelligence obtainable by these overt, normal and aboveboard means would supply us with over 80 percent, I should estimate, of the information required for the guidance of our national policy. . . ."

Though it is not unusual for the CIA to contact Americans about to go behind the Iron Curtain as tourists, not all are approached, and many decline to get involved in high-risk amateur spying. Recently, a New York publishing executive and his wife were about to leave for a tour of Russia when a telephone call came from the CIA. Would the editor be willing to report any interesting conversations he had during his visit there? Would he turn over any interesting pictures he might take? The couple politely refused.

In addition to approaching legitimate tourists, the agency also

plants its own sightseers behind the Iron Curtain, occasionally with disastrous results. On August 25, 1960, two Air Force veterans, Mark I. Kaminsky and Harvey C. Bennett, were arrested while touring the Soviet Union. Both men were proficient in Russian. Kaminsky, 28, taught Russian at Ann Arbor (Mich.) High School, and Bennett, 26, of Bath, Maine, had just graduated in Slavic studies from the University of California at Berkeley. Kaminsky was sentenced to seven years in prison by a court in Kiev. Then the Russians changed their minds and expelled the pair. They returned to the United States on October 20. At a press conference at Idlewild International Airport, Kaminsky denied any spying and said he had planned to write a book called

The Soviet Union Talks Peace While Preparing for War. The two said they had traveled to Russia on grants of \$2,000 each from the "Northcraft Educational Fund of Philadelphia." However, they were not able to describe the operations of the fund, which was not listed then or later in the Philadelphia telephone book, the National Education Association's file of foundations, *The Foundation Directory*, or any other standard reference list.

In a similar case, in 1961, another American, Marvin William Makinen of Ashburnham, Mass., was arrested while touring Russia. Makinen, only 22, had studied chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and had just completed a year as an exchange student at the Free University of West Berlin. He spoke fluent German and Finnish. He was arrested and sentenced to eight years after the Russians charged he took pictures of military installations in Kiev. They claimed he had confessed to spying. Makinen remained in Vladimir prison until October 12,

1963, when he was shipped back to the United States in a four-way trade. Makinen had little to say to reporters as he stepped off a BOAC airliner at Idlewild International Airport just after dawn. When he was asked about his imprisonment by the newspapermen, he replied in a low voice, "I guess it was mainly because of my confession."

Aside from tourist contact work, there have been many other types of activities centered at the CIA's 20 regional offices within the

continued

CIA

Johnson reportedly told Shriver, "Beware the three C's—communism, cuties and the CIA."



"What's so new about a war on poverty? I've been fighting one for years."

ST. LOUIS
moves
past
200th YEAR
at the
Strategic
Center
of America



At the colorful Bicentennial Ball officially opening the city's two-year celebration, President Johnson said: "The people of St. Louis chose progress."

Dedication of 16-story Pierre Laclede Building marks steady progress of 3-billion-dollar expansion program now under way in St. Louis metropolitan area.



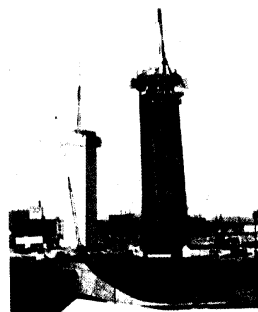
Early this year, St. Louis celebrated its 200th birthday. The occasion was made unusually significant by the presence of both President Lyndon Johnson and Ambassador Herve Alphonse of France as they officially opened the city's gala Bicentennial celebration.

Rather than looking back, the Bicentennial day began a two-year period of dedication to the future. By 1966 many projects important to the good life in St. Louis will be completed. A new 55,000-seat stadium, the Mansion

House Apartments, and many Mill Creek Valley projects are a few. The most exciting will be the completion of America's newest and tallest monument, a stainless steel arch, at the riverfront, symbolizing St. Louis' role as the Gateway to the West.

If it's been a while since you visited St. Louis, come see how this area has grown. You'll be surprised! Want to see how your business could grow in the St. Louis area? Write in confidence to J. W. McAfee, President.

UNION ELECTRIC
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63166



At the base of the Gateway Arch in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Park, a theater and museum will show the people and events connected with the country's westward development.



United States. In Miami and New York, the agency financed and directed Cuban refugee activities. In New York and Chicago, it probably conducts similar activities with Eastern European anti-Communist émigré groups. The CIA's domestic field offices are also useful in obtaining intelligence from business firms that have extensive foreign operations, and serve as a contact point with universities.

The relationship between the Central Intelligence Agency and the universities is two-way—the agency secretly finances research programs at some universities; in turn, the universities help to recruit CIA personnel. There is evidence as well that the CIA subsidizes some foundations, a number of cultural groups and an important publishing house.

In most cases, in a particular city, the telephone directory lists a number for the Central Intelligence Agency under the "United States Government." But there is no address given for the CIA office. As at Langley, the switchboard girl doesn't answer "CIA." She simply repeats the number.

But the listed offices are only the beginning of the story. The CIA has other offices in some United States cities. In Miami, for example, in 1963, the agency not only had a Coral Gables number (HI 5-3658), but also operated as Zenith Technical Enterprises, Inc. This CIA cover firm was listed as follows in the 1963-64 telephone directory:

Zenith Technical Enterprises, Inc.
Univ of Miami South Campus Perrine
238-3311.

In true Ian Fleming fashion, the cover office had no precise address—the university South Campus is a big place. It can be revealed, however, without imperiling national security, that the cloak-and-dagger people have worked from Building 25. The CIA has also operated under at least three other commercial cover names in Miami—the Double-Check Corporation, the Gibraltar Steamship Corporation and the Vanguard Service Corporation.

The point of all this is that the CIA is not simply an agency that gathers foreign intelligence for the United States in far-off corners of the globe. It is deeply involved in many diverse, clandestine activities right here in the United States, in at least 20 metropolitan areas. It can and does pop up in many guises and under many names. On university campuses and in the great urban centers of the United States, the foundation, the cultural committee, the émigré group, the Cuban exile organization, the foreign-affairs research center, the publishing house specializing in books on the Soviet Union, the freedom radio soliciting public contributions, the innocent-looking consulting firm—all may in reality be arms of the Invisible Government. And these examples are not idly chosen.

Whether this state of affairs was intended by Congress when it passed the National Security Act of 1947, or, indeed, whether Congress is even aware of these facts is another matter. Certainly, the vast majority of the American taxpayers are unaware of them.

Overseas, the CIA works principally under embassy cover and commercial cover. In several corners of the world, the agency operates what appear to be small business concerns that really are CIA covers. No subject is touchier to the CIA than the question of cover, for cover is the "cloak" in cloak and dagger, the professional intelligence man's *sine qua non*. In United States embassies around the globe, there is a restricted floor, or section, that houses the CIA mission. Each mission is headed by a station chief, with several intelligence officers reporting to him. These officers in turn recruit their own local "agents" to collect intelligence information.

The CIA personnel are listed as State Department or Foreign Service officers. This is their "cover." In many cases, the identity of the CIA station chief is quickly known to diplomats, newspapermen—and, of course, to his Soviet opposite numbers in the KGB and the GRU. In sharp contrast, British and Soviet secret-service mission

chiefs are very seldom known. CIA agents below the level of station chief are generally less well known outside of the embassy. CIA operation under embassy cover is not something that the Government discusses or would be expected to confirm. Still, on occasion, references to it pop up in unexpected places.

On April 12, 1962, Navy Capt. Charles R. Clark, Jr., naval attaché in the American Embassy in Havana from 1957 to 1960, was being questioned at a hearing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel.

MR. SOURWINE: Were there CIA people in the embassy?

CAPTAIN CLARK: Yes, sir. A considerable number.

MR. SOURWINE: Was their cover good?

CAPTAIN CLARK: I thought it was terrible. Everybody in town who had any interest in it knew who they were . . . their cover was so shallow that it was very easily seen through.

In 1963, the Russians ousted five Americans from the United States Embassy in Moscow in a sensational spy case. Oleg V. Penkovsky, deputy chief of the Soviet State Committee for the Coordination of Scientific Research, and very likely also a colonel in Soviet military intelligence, confessed passing 5,000 frames of miniature-camera film, containing classified information about Soviet rockets and other secrets, to American and British agents. The Russian version of the spy case, as it unfolded in *Pravda* and at the trial, was as follows:

Penkovsky would hide his information in a matchbox behind the radiator in the hallway of a Moscow apartment house at No. 5-6 Pushkin Street.

He would mark a circle with charcoal on lamppost No. 35 near a bus stop on Kutusovsky Prospekt. The Russians said he would then telephone either Capt. Alexis H. Davison, assistant air attaché of the American Embassy, or Hugh Montgomery, the internal-security officer. He would put down the receiver without speaking. Davison would go to the lamppost. If he found the charcoal circle, it meant there was something ready to be picked up at the Pushkin Street drop. Richard C. Jacob, the embassy "archivist," would go to the radiator and retrieve the little package. When the information was picked up, the Americans would make a black smudge on the door of the fish department of a Moscow food store. Then Penkovsky would know the transfer had been accomplished. Although no less than 12

continued

CIA

A publishing house,
a radio station,
and some foundations
may be arms of the
Invisible Government



CHON DAY

LOOK 6-16-64

"I just wonder if it has
brought them happiness."

winner in every straw vote... 7-Up "Float"

Seven-Up and your favorite ice cream—that's today's winning combination. Plunk! A nice big scoopful of ice cream goes into a tall glass. (Like strawberry, chocolate, pistachio—you name it!) Then chilled, sparkling 7-Up is poured in after it. And if you think your 7-Up "Float" looks luscious, just wait until you put a straw to it. The fresh, clean 7-Up taste does wonderful things to ice cream. Sherbet, too. How about having one right now?

Copyright 1964 by The Seven-Up Company

CIA

Nixon wanted the Cuban invasion to take place before election day in November, 1960

American and British diplomats were linked, in one way or another, to this serious charge of espionage, London and Washington stayed exceedingly quiet about it.

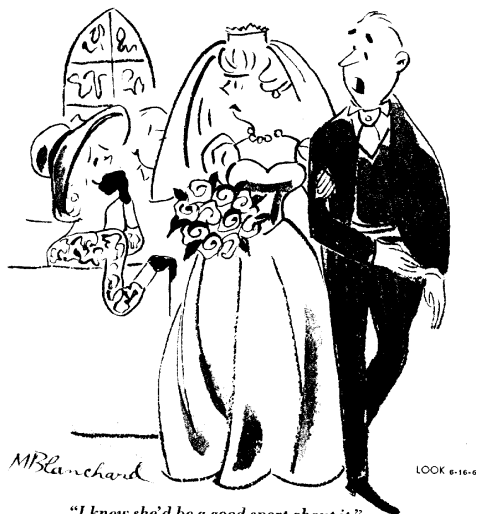
On July 18, 1960, one of the most fascinating and controversial episodes in CIA history began when President Eisenhower sent similar telegrams to candidates Kennedy and Johnson, offering them "periodic briefings on the international scene from a responsible official in the Central Intelligence Agency . . . exclusively for your personal knowledge. . . ." They accepted the offer. On July 23, Allen Dulles, then Director of Central Intelligence, flew to Hyannis

Port with two aides. In a two-and-a-half-hour conversation at the Kennedy summer home, Dulles briefed him on what the candidate described afterwards to reporters as "a good many serious problems around the world." Kennedy indicated that particular emphasis had been placed on Cuba and Africa.

On July 27, Dulles flew to the LBJ Ranch in Texas and remained overnight to brief Johnson. Dulles briefed Kennedy once more during the campaign, on September 19. A few days after this briefing, in a reply published on September 23 to a series of questions from the Scripps-Howard newspapers, Kennedy said: "The forces fighting for freedom in exile and in the mountains of Cuba should be sustained and assisted. . . ." Then, on October 6, in Cincinnati, Kennedy delivered his major speech on Cuba. "Hopefully," he said, "events may once again bring us an opportunity to bring our influence strongly to bear on behalf of the cause of freedom in Cuba."

These sentiments were making the Nixon forces increasingly edgy. Neither Richard M. Nixon nor his aides knew exactly how much, if anything, Kennedy knew about the secret invasion plan. They did not know if Dulles had told him about it. But they certainly did not want the Democratic candidate to benefit from an invasion that might be launched by a Republican President. The Republican candidate and his advisers wanted the CIA invasion to take place before the voters went to the polls on November 8. One of Nixon's top campaign

continued



"I knew she'd be a good sport about it."



When
the sun
goes down

Coleman outing fun begins

The magic evening hours are the best of the day—for camping, picnicking, beach or patio parties, vacations.

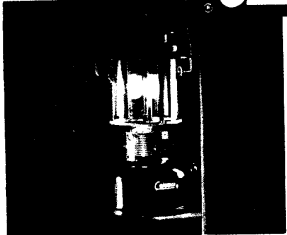
So, light up your Coleman Lantern. Set up your Coleman Stove. Open the Coleman Cooler—here's the food for a snack or a feast. Pour the cool drinks from the Coleman Jug. This is outdoor living!

And surprise! The Coleman fun way is the economy way. You buy your food at supermarket prices, cook out and avoid high restaurant checks, camp out and save motel bills. Coleman Outing Products are rugged and field-tested. Proved in action by three generations of campers and outdoor men. Sold and serviced by dealers all over the world.

Free Guide Book. "Happier Vacations," tells how to have more fun for less money. Filled with camping tips, menus, travel and equipment hints. See your Coleman Dealer today for your free copy, or write:

The Coleman Company, Inc., Dept. LO, Wichita 1, Kansas/Toronto 8, Canada

Greatest Name in the Great Outdoors **Coleman** Foremost Name in Indoor Comfort



COLEMAN LANTERNS for gasoline, kerosene or LP-Gas fuels. Wind-proof, rain-proof and bug-proof. One and two-mantle sizes.



COLEMAN CAMP STOVES two-burner and three-burner stoves that fold for carrying. Also, new 1 and 2-burner LP-Gas Stoves.



COLEMAN SNOW-LITE JUGS one and two-gallon sizes: pour spout or exclusive Fast-Flo, push-button faucets. 4 models, 4 colors.



COLEMAN SNOW-LITE COOLERS, freezer chest and upright styles; large and extra large sizes. 5 models, choice of 4 colors.

CIA

Nixon misrepresented
his own views about
Cuba in 1960 to
"protect" a covert
CIA operation

aides later privately confirmed this. He explained that Nixon was hoping for the invasion before November 8, because "it would have been a cinch to win" the election if the Eisenhower Administration destroyed Fidel Castro in the closing days of the Presidential campaign. That was exactly what the Kennedy strategists hoped would not happen. They were receiving persistent, and disturbing, reports that some kind of Cuban exile operation was in the works. The reports of invasion training were picked up from a number of sources, including alert members of the press.

At one point, there had been discussion among Kennedy strategists of a speech by the candidate to anticipate the brewing invasion, and thereby neutralize its political effect. The idea of a formal speech was dropped, however, when investigation showed there was little possibility of launching an invasion before election day.

The Cuban issue was not, however, dropped completely. On October 20, the Kennedy and Nixon campaign trails crossed in New York City, where both candidates were preparing for their fourth and final televised debate the following night. That afternoon, newspapermen accompanying Kennedy were alerted for an important statement to be issued shortly. When it came, on the very last page appeared these key words: "We must attempt to strengthen the non-Batista, democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro. Thus far, these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government."

At the Waldorf-Astoria, eight blocks away, the effect on Nixon was immediate and explosive. A year and a half later, in his book *Six Crises*, Nixon wrote that when he read Kennedy's Baltimore statement, "I got mad. . . ." Nixon said in his book that the "covert training of Cuban exiles . . ." by the CIA was due, "in substantial part at least, to my efforts," and that this " . . . had been adopted as a policy as a result of my direct support." Now, Nixon felt, Kennedy was trying to preempt a policy that the Vice-President claimed as his own.

Nixon wrote that he ordered Fred Seaton, Interior Secretary and a key campaign adviser, "to call the White House at once on the security line and find out whether or not Dulles had briefed Kennedy on the fact that for months the CIA had not only been supporting and assisting but actually training Cuban exiles for the eventual purpose of supporting an invasion of Cuba itself. Seaton reported back to me in half an hour. His answer: Kennedy had been briefed on this operation. . . ." Kennedy, Nixon wrote, was advocating "what was already the policy of the American Government—covertly—and Kennedy had been so informed. . . . Kennedy was endangering the security of the whole operation. . . . There was only one thing I could do. The covert operation had to be protected at all costs. I must not even suggest by implication that the United States was rendering aid to rebel forces in and out of Cuba. In fact, I must go to the other extreme: I must attack the Kennedy proposal to provide such aid as wrong and irresponsible because it would violate our treaty commitments."

The next night, during their fourth debate, Nixon hopped on the Kennedy proposal as "dangerously irresponsible."

On the night of October 22, in the crowded gymnasium at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pa., Nixon cut loose: "He [Kennedy] called for—and get this—the U.S. Government to support a revolution in Cuba, and I say that this is the most shockingly reckless proposal ever made in our history by a Presidential candidate during a campaign—and I'll tell you why. . . . he comes up, as I pointed up, with the fantastic recommendation that the U.S. Government shall directly aid the anti-Castro forces both in and out of Cuba. . . . You know what this would mean? We would violate right off the bat five treaties with the American States, including the Treaty of Bogota of 1948. We would

also violate our solemn commitments to the United Nations. . . ."

By the time Kennedy reached Wisconsin the next day, he was feeling the heat of the Nixon attack. In North Carolina, Adlai E. Stevenson, campaigning for Kennedy, was alarmed at Kennedy's Cuba stand. Stevenson placed a long-distance call to Kennedy and warned him that the statement urging aid to the exiles could develop into a political trap for Kennedy if he were elected. Kennedy seemed embarrassed about the statement and told Stevenson he would pull back from it to a safer position.

Accordingly, Kennedy dispatched a telegram to Nixon that day in which he said he had "never advocated and I do not now advocate intervention in Cuba in violation of our treaty obligations. . . ." And he said no more about aiding Cuban exiles.

In March, 1962, when Nixon charged in his book that Kennedy had been briefed about the Cuban invasion and had deliberately endangered its security, the White House issued an immediate denial, which was backed up by Allen Dulles. The then Presidential press secretary, Pierre Salinger, said Kennedy "was not told before the election of 1960 of the training of troops outside of Cuba or of any plans for 'supporting an invasion of Cuba.'" Nixon's account was based on a "misunderstanding." Salinger stated, Dulles's campaign briefings, he added, had been general in nature. He said Kennedy was first informed of the Cuban operation on November 18, 1960, ten days after the election. Dulles, too, attributed Nixon's version to "an honest misunderstanding." "My briefings were intelligence briefings on the world situation," Dulles said. "They did not cover our own Government's plans or programs for action, overt or covert."

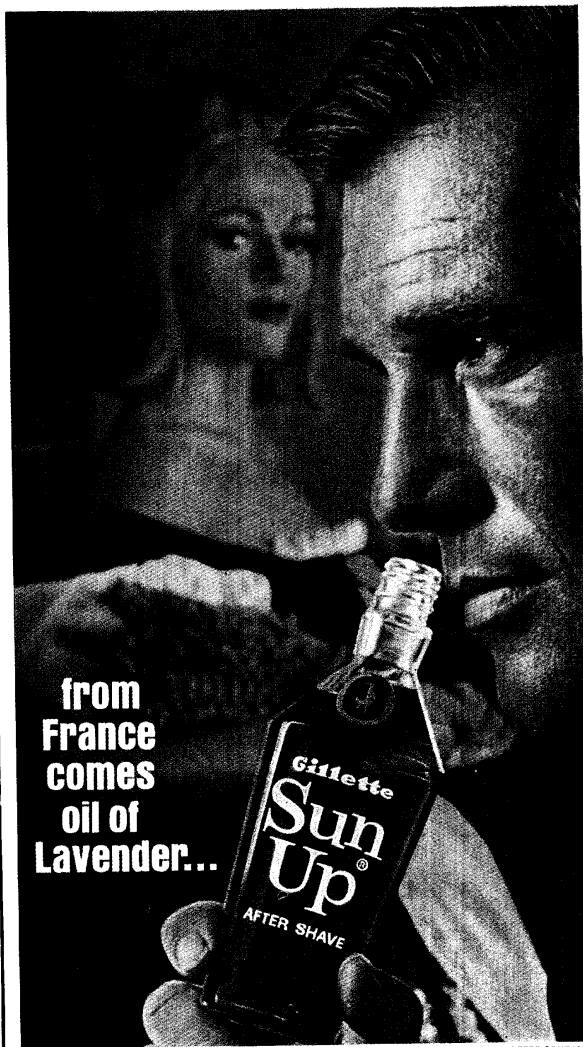
Exactly what was said during Dulles's briefings of Kennedy, Dulles's precise words when the question of Cuba arose—his nuances, his inflections—will never be known for certain, since the meeting was top-secret and unrecorded. But there is some evidence that Kennedy did not want to be briefed on operational matters—such as the Cuban invasion—because this might have limited his freedom of action.

In any event, Nixon's dispute with Kennedy and Dulles over who told what to whom missed the point. Regardless of the content of the CIA briefings, the Kennedy camp had learned informally from other sources that an exile invasion was hatching. Both candidates for the Presidency were allowing their campaign strategy and public positions to be influenced by a secret operation of the Invisible Government. The Invisible Government participated in the 1960 Presidential campaign. It was unseen, but it was there. END

BUTCH



"Hereafter, let's each plan our own getaway, Butch."



from
France
comes
oil of
Lavender...

Enticing... new Sun Up by Gillette

More than 20 rare and costly essences from all over the world give Sun Up After Shave its inviting fragrance. Gillette blends the romance of the seven seas into Sun Up...Lavender from France...Rosewood from Brazil...Sandalwood from the Indies. Dash a bit on at the end of a shave for that top of the morning feeling. Try it any time of the day for a cool, refreshing lift. The fragrance that lingers is cleanly male, definitely enticing. In two sizes: 4 oz., 79¢; 6 oz., \$1 plus tax.

Give Sun Up for Father's Day in the handsome 6 oz. Gift Package \$1.00 plus tax



The strange case of the

CIA WIDOWS

CIA, PART 2: Every two weeks, the widows of four Americans who died at the Bay of Pigs receive checks for \$245. But they are afraid to ask too many questions, or the mysterious payments may stop.

BY DAVID WISE AND THOMAS B. ROSS

THE CASE OF THE four CIA widows is, in some respects, a twentieth-century tragedy. These women, whose husbands died at the Bay of Pigs during the Cuban invasion of 1961, were living in Birmingham, Ala., two years later, in an atmosphere of fear that had nothing to do with the city's racial troubles.

Partly, their fear could be traced to an unseen hand that sent each of them, every two weeks, a check for \$245. There was fear that if they said too much, the same invisible hand might cut off the payments. For one of the widows, Mrs. Margaret H. Ray, a soft-spoken, attractive brunette, the anxiety was deepened by the thought of lie-detector tests, the suspicion that her telephone was being tapped and that she was under surveillance. Were these merely the imaginings of a distraught widow alone in the world with her two young children? Perhaps. And then again, perhaps not.

The husbands of these four women were Thomas Willard Ray, Leo Francis Baker, Riley W. Shamburger, Jr., and Wade Carroll Gray—American CIA airmen who died on April 19, 1961, while flying in combat at the Bay of Pigs.

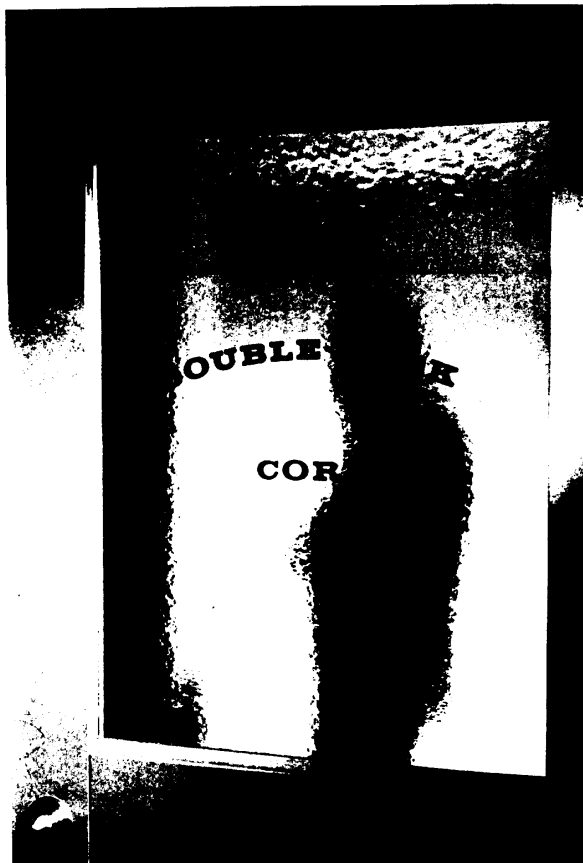
One key to the mystery of all that has since happened to the Birmingham widows could be found in a small two-story building on a quiet, palm-lined street in Miami Springs, Fla., not far north of Miami International Airport. It was, the sign out front proclaimed, the law office of Alex E. Carlson.

Carlson, a big, blond, heavy-set man, had seen three years of combat during World War II. After the war, he received his bachelor's degree in Spanish from the University of Michigan, and by 1952 was finishing law school at the University of Miami. That year, he went to Chile on an exchange scholarship. He then returned and set up practice in Miami Springs. Some of his clients appeared to be obscure airline and air-cargo firms operating out of Miami International Airport.

But Carlson's most intriguing business activity was the Double-Check Corporation. According to the records of the Florida secretary of state, this firm was incorporated on May 14, 1959, and "brokerage is the general nature of business engaged in." As of 1963, the officers

continued

COPYRIGHT © 1964 BY DAVID WISE AND THOMAS B. ROSS. ADAPTED FROM "THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT," TO BE PUBLISHED BY RANDOM HOUSE IN JUNE.



The Double-Check Corporation never really existed, except on paper. Hence, this picture is not real either. It is a phantom illustration of a phantom organization.

LOOK 6-30 64 77

of the Double-Check Corporation were listed as "Alex E. Carlson, President, 145 Curtiss Parkway, Miami Springs" (the address of Carlson's law office); "Earl Sanders, Vice-President, same address; Margery Carlson, Secretary-Treasurer, same address." The "resident agent" was listed as "Wesley R. Pillsbury," again at the same address.

In 1960, the Central Intelligence Agency, having been given the green light by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to organize Cuban exiles, began looking about for American pilots to serve as pilot instructors. Because the exiles would be using B-26's, the agency wanted Americans who had flown the plane in wartime. The CIA decided to do its recruiting through Alex E. Carlson and the Double-Check Corporation. (The agency uses cover of this sort when it recruits pilots.) To find the men, the CIA turned to the Air National Guard in Alabama, Virginia and Arkansas, the last state units to fly the obsolescent B-26. From these states, some two dozen airmen were signed up, through Double-Check. The majority were from Alabama, mainly from the Birmingham area. Gen. Reid Doster, the congenial, tough-looking commanding general of the Alabama Air National Guard, was a key man in this CIA operation. Doster asked for—and received—leaves of absence for himself and about a dozen of his guardsmen. They and Doster entered into contracts with the CIA.

Each of the American pilots was sworn to secrecy by the CIA, with the exception of Doster, who gave his word as a general officer. All pledged they would never talk about what happened during their secret assignment. Four of the men did not return:

Thomas Willard (Pete) Ray, aged 30 when he died, was born in Birmingham on March 15, 1931. He served in the Air Force from 1950 to 1952. In December of that year, Ray joined the Hayes International Corporation, a large aircraft modification company with its main plant at the Birmingham airport. Ray was a technical inspector at Hayes, but he kept up his pilot's proficiency by flying B-26's and F-84's in the Alabama National Guard. He married Margaret Hayden, whom he had begun dating in high school, and they had two children—Thomas, a crew-cut, blond-haired boy, eight when his father died, and Janet Joy, six.

Ray took leave from Hayes in 1960, and for a year before he joined the CIA, was on active duty at Fort Rucker, 170 miles south of Birmingham. In January, 1961, Ray received a telephone call. He told his wife he would be leaving to go to a "combined service school." On February 5, 1961, Mrs. Ray and the children moved from their home in Center Point, a Birmingham suburb, into her mother's home in Birmingham. Her husband left the same day. He did not say where he was going. He told his wife she could write to him at this address: c/o Joseph Greenland, Box 7921, Main Post Office, Chicago, Ill. (There was no Joseph Greenland listed in the Chicago telephone directory in 1960, 1961 or 1962. The box was a CIA mail drop; the CIA official who selected "Greenland" apparently was unable to resist choosing a code name suggested by the verdant tropical vegetation of the target island.)

Margaret wrote to her husband c/o Joseph Greenland, and he wrote back, with his letters bearing the return addresses of different Air Force bases. Pete came home only once, on April 10, for a two-day visit: he had a deep suntan. During that stay, he did not tell his wife what he was doing, but she had begun to piece it together from newspaper stories and her own suspicions. She gave voice to these suspicions. "If you've learned anything," he told her, "keep your mouth shut, because they are thinking of giving lie-detector tests to the wives." He indicated that "they" might do this in order to check on whether there had been any security leaks at home in Birmingham.

On April 15, Margaret was fixing a girl friend's hair at her mother's house when her friend showed her a newspaper telling of the B-26 strike against Cuba. Margaret's hands began to tremble.

Leo Francis Baker, 31 at the time he died, was a native of Boston. A short, dark-haired, handsome man, he was thought to be Italian by many of his friends because of his appearance and because he owned two pizza shops in the Birmingham area. Actually, he was the son of a French mother and a father who came from Newfoundland. He entered the Air Force in 1944, served as a flight engineer and was discharged as a technical sergeant. He married, and was divorced. There was one daughter, Teresa. Baker flew in the Korean War, then, on Lincoln's Birthday, 1957, joined Hayes as a flight engineer. He also started a pizza shop in the East Lake section. The following year, an attractive, blue-eyed brunette named Catherine Walker walked into Leo's Pizza Shop. He hired her on the spot. They were married on August 12, 1959.

That December, Baker was laid off by Hayes. But he bought a second pizza shop, in suburban Homewood. Cathy managed one; Leo, the other. He worked hard—he could not abide lazy people—and his small restaurant business prospered. They had two children: Beth, born April 22, 1960, and Mary, who never saw her father. She was born September 26, 1961, six months after his death.

In January, 1961, Leo Baker went to Boston for his father's funeral. He told Cathy he was expecting a phone call, and it came while he was gone. Late in January, Baker left home. He did not tell Cathy where he was going, but he said she could write to him c/o Joseph Greenland at the Chicago address. His return mail came once from Washington, D. C., but was usually postmarked Fort Lauderdale, Fla. A picture postcard from the Florida city showed a motel with a tropical-fish pool, and one weekend, Leo returned to Birmingham carrying a plastic bag of tropical fish.

Baker told his wife he was dropping supplies over Cuba and training pilots. Every two or three weeks, he would come home briefly. Two weeks before Easter, he returned for the last time. He arrived on a Saturday and left on a Sunday; that was the last Cathy ever saw of him. "Watch the newspapers early in May," were among the parting words he spoke to her.

Riley W. Shamburger, Jr., the oldest of the four fliers, was born in Birmingham on November 17, 1921. He and Marion Jane Graves dated for 12 years, through grammar school and Woodlawn High, before their marriage. After Pearl Harbor, Shamburger quit high school to join the Air Force. (When the war ended, he returned and got his diploma.) A combat pilot in World War II and Korea, Shamburger was a big, breezy extrovert, with 15,000 hours in the air and 18 years of flying experience by 1961. A test pilot at Hayes, he was also a major in the Alabama Air National Guard and its operations officer at the Birmingham airfield. He was a good friend of General Doster.

Shamburger owned a substantial home in East Lake. The Shamburgers were part of a beer-and-barbecue crowd of Air Guardsmen and their wives who frequently socialized together. Aside from flying, Riley liked nothing better than to sit in front of the TV set with a case of beer, eating his favorite food, "parched" (roasted) peanuts. And he liked to barbecue pork chops.

Early in 1961, Riley told his wife, "I'm going to be away at school for three months." He did not say where he was going, but about once a week, he returned to Birmingham. He and Doster would fly in together. Sometimes, they would bring news of other Birmingham acquaintances who were part of the mysterious operation. Once, when Riley returned for a visit, he told how the boys had rigged up a beer joint in Central America named after their favorite Birmingham bar. Shortly before the invasion, Marion sent Riley a present—a cigar box full of parched peanuts.

Wade Carroll Gray, born in Birmingham on March 1, 1928, and 33 when he died, had also once been employed at Hayes, as a radio

continued

CIA
continued

"Watch the news-
papers early in May,"
one of the pilots told
his wife during
their last meeting

and electronics technician. He married his pretty wife Violet on December 14, 1946, and they settled down in Pinson, a suburb where Wade had lived most of his life. They had no children. When Wade left home on February 5, 1961—the same day that Pete Ray said good-bye to Margaret—he told his wife that he was going to Texas to test planes. He said that the project was secret and that he could say no more. Gray first returned home for a visit in early March, 1961. He, too, told his wife to write c/o Joseph Greenland. Some of the letters Violet Gray sent were returned to her with her husband's effects after his death. Among these effects were matchbooks indicating he had been in both Guatemala and Nicaragua.

This, then, was the background of the four American airmen who volunteered to fly B-26's over the beaches at the Bay of Pigs on April 19 to relieve exhausted Cuban exile pilots.

Shortly before they took off from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, the four CIA fliers—two to a plane—were told they would receive air support from carrier-based Navy jets. (The word had been flashed to them by Richard Bissell, a deputy director of the CIA, after President Kennedy authorized unmarked Navy jets to fly for one hour at dawn.) Because of a mix-up over time zones, the B-26's got to the Bay of Pigs after the Navy jets and already gone. Exactly how the two planes were shot down is a subject of varying accounts, but most versions agree that Shamburger and Gray crashed at sea, and Ray and Baker, inland.

Some evidence that Ray and Baker did crash on Cuban soil was provided on the morning of April 19, 1961. At 10:30 a.m. Havana time, Radio Havana broadcast: "We give you official government communiqué No. 3. The participation of the United States in the aggression against Cuba was dramatically proved this morning, when our antiaircraft batteries brought down a U.S. military plane piloted by a U.S. airman, who was bombing the civilian population and our infantry forces in the area of the Australia Central [a sugar mill]. The attacking U.S. pilot, whose body is in the hands of the [Castro] revolutionary forces, was named Leo Francis Bell. His documents reveal his flight license number, 08323-LM, which expires 21 December 1962. His Social Security card is numbered 014-07-6921. His motor vehicle registration was issued to 100 Nassau Street, Boston 14, Massachusetts. The registered address of the Yankee pilot is 43 Beacon Street, Boston. His height is five feet six inches."

A Havana wire-service dispatch identified the pilot as Leo Francis Berliss. Another story had it as Berle.

In Oklahoma City, the Federal Aviation Agency said it had no record at its headquarters there of the pilot's license reported by Havana. The license numbering system, the FAA added, "isn't like that." Reporters in Boston who checked the Beacon Street address found an apartment house. None of the residents had ever heard of Leo Francis Berliss. The State Department said it had no one by that name in either the civilian or military branch of the government.

What Fidel Castro had in his hands, of course, were Leo Baker's CIA-prepared credentials, made out with a fake last name. (The height, five feet six inches, was Baker's actual height.) Presumably, the papers were recovered from Baker's body after the bomber crashed. CIA clandestine officers frequently have bogus papers.

One week later, on April 26, Margaret Ray received a visit from Thomas F. McDowell, a Birmingham lawyer, accompanied by another man. They told Mrs. Ray that it was believed her husband had been lost at sea in a C-46 transport plane, and asked her to tell no one. They indicated there was a slim chance he might still be alive.

For the next week, Margaret Ray went about her normal life, going to church, to the PTA, to the supermarket. On Wednesday, May 3, she was again visited by McDowell. This time, he brought with him a big, blond man he introduced as an attorney from Miami. His name was Alex E. Carlson. The two repeated the story about the C-46, but this

time, they said there was no longer any hope that her husband was alive.

On Thursday, May 4, Carlson held a press conference in Birmingham. He announced that the four fliers were missing and presumed dead after their C-46 had left on a cargo mission from an airstrip somewhere in Central America. Carlson said he was an attorney representing the Double-Chek Corporation of Miami. He said Double-Chek had put some anti-Castro Cubans in touch with the fliers early in April. Carlson did not say whether the four had flown in the invasion. "They were told to use the radio only in case of emergency," said Carlson. "Then they reported one engine had gone out and they were losing altitude. That was the last they have been heard from."

Carlson said the Double-Chek Corporation had contacted the four on behalf of an organization that requested its identity remain confidential. "But it is presumed to be an exiled group of Cubans," Carlson noted. He said that Double-Chek had hired the four at a monthly salary to fly cargo. "These men knew what they were getting into," he added. "It was a calculated risk. If they came back, they had a nice nest egg."

The four widows were embittered by Carlson's words at the press conference. "Riley wasn't a soldier of fortune," Mrs. Shamburger said. "He didn't do this for the money. He was a test pilot at Hayes, and was paid a good salary there. He was also an operations officer for the Air National Guard."

Mrs. Gray told a newspaper interviewer her husband was no soldier of fortune either. She said he was paid \$1,990 a month during the short period he was away. She, too, had been visited by Carlson. "He said my husband was dead and to start life anew. He said

they had spotted one of the plane's engines floating in the water. I didn't think engines floated."

"They knew what they were getting into, but I didn't," said the third widow, Mrs. Baker.

Three days after he returned to Miami, Carlson told the press he was sure the C-46 had been flying a support mission for the Cuban invasion. But he said the mission had no connection with the main exile organization, the Democratic Revolutionary Front. "There are many so-called fronts and wealthy individuals, all anxious to do their part,"

continued

CIA

One widow received matchbooks indicating that her husband had been in Nicaragua and Guatemala

BUTCH



"As long as they're mad, they might as well be good and mad."

CIA

Since May, 1961,
each widow has
received over
\$6,000 a year from
an unknown source

he announced to reporters. "This was a small group." Carlson's partner in Double-Check, Raymond W. Cox, told Miami newspapermen that the corporation originally was formed to buy a race horse. He said he knew nothing about any fliers.

Shortly after Carlson's appearance in Birmingham in May, 1961, mysterious checks began arriving for the four widows. At first, the checks were issued by the Hialeah-Miami Springs Bank and were signed by Carlson. Soon afterward, they began coming from the Bankers Trust Company of New York, simply signed by an officer of the bank. They arrived every two weeks. At first, the payments were \$225. Later, they were increased to \$245, or a bit more than \$6,000 a year for each widow. The checks were drawn on a trust fund set up at the bank, but there was no indication of the source.

Obviously, however, the money came from the CIA. On May 17, 1961, Carlson wrote to Cathy Baker on his law-office letterhead. He enclosed a cashier's check for \$1,990 and wrote: "Double Check Corporation has decided to extend the regular monthly salary through the 4th day of June, 1961, but is regrettably convinced of the finality of your husband's fate. Nevertheless, beginning June 5th, on a monthly basis, you will receive regular benefit allotments, as provided for by your husband's employment contract. Again let me express my sincere feelings of condolence in your time of bereavement, and should you have any questions or problems, please feel free to call upon our attorneys in Birmingham for help." [The words "regrettably" and "condolence" were misspelled.] The letter was signed: "Very truly yours, Alex E. Carlson, Attorney for Double-Check."

Peculiarly, Carlson seemed unsure both in this typed letter and in numerous public statements whether the firm of which he was president was called Double Check, Double-Check (as he wrote to Mrs. Baker) or Double-Chek (as it was incorporated in the State of Florida).

By "our attorneys in Birmingham," Carlson meant McDowell, who continued to act as a sort of self-appointed overseer of the widows' affairs. McDowell was able to obtain death certificates for the four fliers; he kept them in his safe in Room 533 of the Frank Nelson Building in downtown Birmingham. The widows were under the impression that McDowell had a background in Naval Intelligence, and believed that he had something to do with the checks they received.

As this surrealistic chain of events unfolded, Riley Shamburger's mother, who refused to believe he was dead, carried on an energetic correspondence with the Federal Government. Mrs. Shamburger began by writing to the State Department, and received a reply, dated August 11, 1961, from Denman F. Stanfield, acting chief of the Protection and Representation Division:

"Reference is made to your letter of July 9, 1961, concerning the welfare and whereabouts of your son. If you will provide your son's full name, date and place of birth, last known address here or abroad, and any other pertinent information that would assist in locating him, the Department would be pleased to make inquiries."

Shortly afterward, she received a letter, dated September 14, 1961, from Maj. Sidney Ormerod, United States Air Force, Division of Administrative Services. This one was briskly efficient: "(1) Your letters to the Department of State concerning your son have been referred to me for reply. (2) The records in this office do not contain the circumstances surrounding your son's accident. At the time he was not on active duty in his military status. (3) For more detailed information it is suggested you contact the Hayes Aircraft Corp., Birmingham, Alabama, since he was under their jurisdiction at the time in question. (4) I regret that I was unable to be of assistance to you in this matter."

The letter was deceptive. At "the time in question," Riley Shamburger was flying for the CIA. He was certainly not testing aircraft

for Hayes over the Bay of Pigs. Hayes was not notably communicative about the case of the four pilots. When one of the authors of this article asked for information on the background of the four men, who had worked for the company for many years, a Hayes public-relations spokesman stated he could give out no information: "The matter is closed as far as we are concerned."

A lesser woman might have been discouraged by this, but Mrs. Shamburger was not. The following year, she wrote to John A. McCone, Director of the CIA. She received a reply, dated July 14, 1962, on CIA stationery and signed by Marshall S. Carter, Lieutenant General, United States Army, Acting Director. It said: "In Mr. McCone's absence, I am replying to your letter of June, 1962, requesting information concerning your son. I am sorry to disappoint you, but this agency is unable to furnish you any such information. Also, we have made inquiries of other government departments, and these, too, have no pertinent information. We have every sympathy for you in your natural concern for the fate of your son, and I am sorry as I can be that we cannot help. Please be assured that if at any time we are able to furnish information we will contact you promptly."

Mrs. Shamburger still did not give up. She wrote to the President of the United States. On October 4, 1962, Brig. Gen. Godfrey T. McHugh, Air Force Aide to President Kennedy, replied: "... If any information is ever obtained on the circumstances surrounding the loss of your son, you will be informed immediately. Unfortunately, at present neither CIA nor any other government agency possesses the slightest pertinent information on your son's disappearance. ..."

Riley Shamburger's mother was determined to keep trying. "I am not going to give up," she said. "They take your boy away and never let you know what happened."

Mrs. Shamburger's correspondence with the Federal bureaucracy went on behind the scenes. After the brief flurry of publicity right after the Bay of Pigs, the story of the four missing Americans dropped out of the news for almost two years—until it reappeared dramatically on February 25, 1963, when Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, Senate minority leader, revealed that four American fliers had been killed at the Bay of Pigs. Dirksen's disclosure was extremely embarrassing for the Kennedy Administration. On April 12, 1961, five days before the invasion, President Kennedy had said: "This government will do everything it possibly can, and I think it can meet its responsibilities, to make sure that there are no Americans involved in any actions inside Cuba." And on January 21, 1963, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy had said in an interview that no Americans died at the Bay of Pigs.

In this interview and a similar one with *U.S. News & World Report*, Robert Kennedy had said something else of greater, historic sig-

continued



LOOK & THINK

"I'll give you seventy-five cents to go home."

F
O
I
V
S
A

ASK...



**THE
CAR
YOU
DRIVE
TODAY
NEEDS
PENNZOIL**

Today's cars are powerful, precision-made. They cost more to buy, more to repair. And you drive farther between oil changes. Conclusion? Motor oil is more important than ever before! That's why more and more people now ask for Pennzoil. This pure Pennsylvania oil is the world's toughest and finest. It protects *all the way* from one oil change to the next. And you save money because Pennzoil contains Z-7 and needs no extra additive. Why take chances? Why worry? Be safe and sure: ask... that's the way to get Pennzoil.

84 LOOK 6/30/64

CIA
continued

The man who recruited the pilots said they were motivated by "their beliefs and... compensation."

Andrew T. Hatcher, the assistant Presidential press secretary, issued a statement. General McHugh had answered Mrs. Shamburger's letter, Hatcher explained. "At the direction of the President," he said, "the general extended the President's heartfelt sympathy and explained that the Government had, unfortunately, no information to add to that which had been conveyed to Mrs. Shamburger before. We are informed that representatives of the organization which employed Mr. Shamburger reported her son's death, and as much as is known of the circumstances, to Mrs. Shamburger in the spring of 1962."

However, the White House did not make public the actual text of the letter to Mrs. Shamburger, in which McHugh had said that "at present neither CIA nor any other government agency possesses the slightest pertinent information on your son's disappearance."

Sen. Mike Mansfield, the Democratic leader of the Senate, tried to blunt Dirksen's political thrust. He noted that Carlson's announcement in Birmingham on May 1, 1961 (the false cover story about the C-46) had been carried at the time (as a four-paragraph item) in the New York Times. There was nothing new about the story, Mansfield declared. He also said that a few selected members of Congress had been told at the time that four Americans were killed in the invasion.

On March 4, 1963, following the Dirksen disclosure, Carlson told newsmen that a "Central American group authorized Double-Check to set up a trust fund for payments in case the men died. Now the widows receive these disbursements." The four men, he now said, "never were considered soldiers of fortune. They knew they were going into hazardous duty, involving anti-Castro tasks, but were motivated both by their beliefs and by attractive compensation."

Two days later, on March 6, the Kennedy Administration, under pressure, finally made its first oblique admission of the real role of the four airmen, at a Presidential press conference:

Q. "Mr. President, can you say whether the four Americans who died in the Bay of Pigs invasion were employees of the Government or the CIA?"

A. "Well, I would say that there are a good many Americans in the last fifteen years who have served their country in a good many different ways, a good many abroad. Some of them have lost their lives. . . . Let me say just about these four men: They were serving their country. The flight that cost them their lives was a volunteer flight, and that while because of the nature of their work it has not been a matter of public record, as it might be in the case of soldiers or sailors, I can say that they were serving their country. . . ."

The Administration found itself in an awkward dilemma. It could not admit very much more about the four fliers, because to do so would be to admit that it had misled Mrs. Shamburger and had kept the truth from the American public. And if it opened up the record on the four men, the action would lead directly to questions about why the carrier-based Navy jets and the B-26's had not arrived over the beaches together. Such questions, in turn, would raise the further question of why the President, having stated on April 12, 1961, that

continued

nificance. This was the first time a ranking official of the Government admitted clearly, and on the record, that the Bay of Pigs was a United States operation. "The President had to give approval to the plan," Kennedy said. He added that the Joint Chiefs "did approve it, although responsibility for the planning lay primarily with the CIA."

After Dirksen's statement, newsmen sought out the elder Mrs. Shamburger. "If no Americans were involved," she said, with obvious reference to statements by the President and the Attorney General, "where is my son?" She said she had written to the President about her son, "but he evaded my question."

The White House was alarmed.

**"I Retired
with a home-based
business of my own!"**



Says Ed Davis of Escalon, California

Shortly after Ed Davis retired from Civil Service work, he found that he wasn't ready for the "sitting and rocking" kind of retirement. He was still youthful and active.

In the few short years he has been "retired," Ed has built a thriving magazine subscription business. Naturally, the extra income from this business is a welcome supplement to his retirement income. But, more important, it keeps Ed busy and active. His constant contact with the public maintains his youthfulness.

Of course, Ed enjoys being his own boss. He works when he feels like it . . . and he operates his business right in his own home. For Ed Davis, the sitting and rocking kind of retirement is a long way off. He has a business to take care of.

Would you like to join Ed Davis and the thousands of others who have found an exciting, interesting way to supplement their income? To find out more about how you can begin a business of your own as a Community Representative of LOOK and all other magazines, mail the coupon below at once. Information will be sent to you by return mail.

Write Today - No Obligation

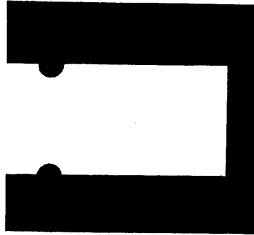
YES! Send me a free kit of supplies and complete information today!

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____

MAIL TO: LEE MORGAN
LOOK BUILDING
DES MOINES, IOWA 50304

VING SOON...

form to change your
ow 5 weeks for address



RESS:

State Zip
Code

BUILDING—DES MOINES, IOWA 50304

PHOTOQUIZ ANSWERS

(See page 88) 1—Rex Harrison and Elizabeth Taylor. 2—Charlton Heston and Sophia Loren. 3—Elizabeth Taylor and Montgomery Clift. 4—Montgomery Clift and Shelley Winters. 5—Paul Newman and Elke Sommer. 6—William Holden and Audrey Hepburn. 7—Jane Fonda and Elfreid Zimbalist, Jr. 8—Gregory Peck and Ava Gardner. 9—Tony Perkins and Melina Mercouri. 10—Cary Grant and Ingrid Bergman.

hrink and Heal thout Surgery

15 New Healing Substance
Without Surgery And At
tching and Pain.

a very wide variety of hemorrhoid conditions, some of 10 to 20 years' standing.

All this was accomplished without the use of narcotics, astringents or anesthetics of any kind. The secret is the remarkable new healing substance (Bio-Dyne®) which quickly helps heal injured cells and stimulates regrowth of healthy tissue again. It is offered in ointment or suppository form called Preparation H®.

In addition to actually shrinking hemorrhoids, Preparation H lubricates and makes elimination less painful. It helps prevent infection which is a principal cause of hemorrhoids. Just ask for Preparation H Ointment or Preparation H Suppositories (easier to use away from home). Any drug counter.

CIA

Three years later,
the widows had
nothing official
to explain their
husbands' deaths

of the United States. But once the invasion role of the United States—and the CIA—was freely and publicly conceded by Robert Kennedy in 1963, it is difficult to see how security could any longer have been a factor in cloaking the story of the four men.

Carlson was still sticking to his script. In a private interview in Miami Springs in the summer of 1963, he said that he continued to feel that the four men were, basically, flying for money. He pulled out a thick file and, consulting it, said that Shamburger and Ray had been paid \$2,200 a month, Gray \$1,500 and Baker \$1,700.

"Double-Chek was contacted back in 1960 by a Central American front," Carlson explained. But a moment later, he said the "recruiters," whom he refused to identify, "appeared to be American businessmen." They had been recommended to him, Carlson said, by "someone at the Miami airport," whom he declined to identify.

Carlson said Double-Chek had originally been formed to hold real estate for a client. "I was listed as president to protect the identity of my client," The client, he said, "came from Czechoslovakia and that's where he got the idea for the name." Carlson commented that Cox's story about a race horse was just a bit of "jazz."

Carlson professed to know nothing about the source of the money for the widows' checks. He said the "trust account" was established at Bankers Trust in New York. "I believe there is a lump sum set up there, and the interest is what's paying the ladies."

Three years after the Bay of Pigs, the Birmingham widows had received no acknowledgment from the Government about their husbands. They had received no written notification that their husbands died while employed by—and fighting for—the United States. They had nothing official to show their children to explain their fathers' deaths.

END



LOOK 4-30-64



English invention

A retired English c
ing the heat of India,
& Tonic nearly 75 ye
Gordon's? Undoubt
had already been s
gin for over a cent
drinkers have found
refreshing as a sun-d

PRODUCT OF U. S. A. DISTILLED LC